

Pamph
Econ
Tariff
B

Baird
The South



1908

Pamph
Econ
Tariff
B

**THE SOUTH:
SHALL IT EVER BECOME SO FAR CIVILIZED**

AS TO BE FIT FOR A
REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT, OBEDIENT TO THE
CONSTITUTION AND THE LAWS,
AND PERVADED BY SUCH A PUBLIC OPINION AS SHALL ENFORCE THIS TRUE CITIZENSHIP?

OR

SHALL WE FOR ANOTHER SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS
BE SUBJECT TO ITS VICIOUS LEGISLATION, ITS
TURBULENCE AND ITS WARS?

ANSWER:

THE DINGLEY TARIFF,

CAUSING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VAST MINERAL AND OTHER RESOURCES OF THE SOUTHERN STATES,
THROUGH WORK AND WAGES, NEARER AND GREATER MARKETS, WEALTH AND POWER, IS SOLVING
THIS SUPREME NATIONAL PROBLEM, UNSOLVED FOR 125 YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE.

THEREFORE

HANDS OFF THE DINGLEY TARIFF!

SO OVERFLOWING WITH GOOD GIFTS, AMONG THE GREATEST THE HOPE OF THE
PRESERVATION OF OUR FREE INSTITUTIONS AND OUR LIBERTIES.

ADDRESSED

In Criticism of his Economic Views and Recommendations, to
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT,

BY WAY OF WARNING.

BY

HENRY CAREY BAIRD.

PHILADELPHIA :

HENRY CAREY BAIRD & CO.,
INDUSTRIAL PUBLISHERS, BOOKSELLERS AND IMPORTERS,
810 WALNUT STREET.
1908.

409628

9. 2. 43

Hq 101
ECON
TARI
8

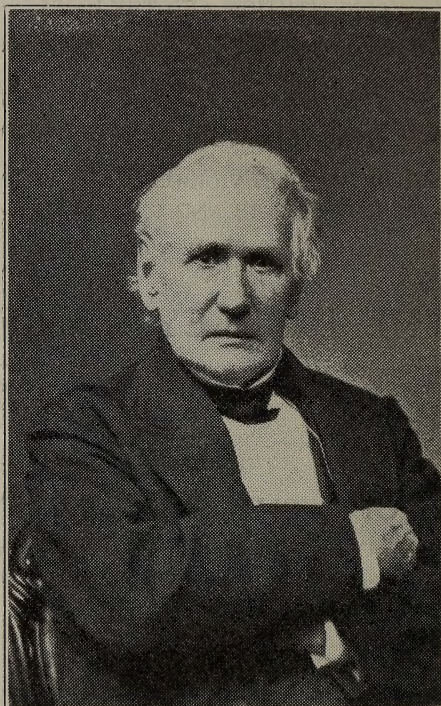
HENRY CHARLES CAREY, LL. D.,

PHILOSOPHER OF STATESMANSHIP.

"Of all the varied answers to the old cry of human nature, 'Who will show us any good?' none are more sententious than Mr. Carey's. He says to Kings, Presidents and People, 'Keep the nation at work, and the greater the variety of employments the better.' He is seeking and elucidating the great radical laws of matter as regarded man.

"HE IS AT ONCE THE APOSTLE AND EVANGELIST OF TEMPORAL RIGHTEOUSNESS."

(A Writer in the *National Intelligencer*, Washington, D. C.)



Henry C. Carey

"Like one crying in the wilderness," sixty years ago, and persistently so thereafter, his cry to his countrymen was to deaf ears until it was too late; the poisoned chalice, of the civil war in Kansas, the Rebellion, the great civil war, and the overthrow of constitutional government in the South, presented to their lives, proclaimed him to be a true prophet.

Judgment of Dr. Hinzpeter, Sometime Tutor of the Great German Emperor William, a Student Who Evidently Learned his Lesson of Philosophic Statesmanship Well.

The Crown Prince's tutor, before attending the course of "Professor" Bismarck, was a gentleman universally respected for the purity of his character, and the many philanthropic efforts associated with his name. Of course, I refer to Dr. Hinzpeter. One day the Doctor was kindly showing me over a most interesting charitable institution and incidentally dwelt upon the force of great ideas in producing noble results. He deplored the money-making tendency of America, and asserted—much to my amazement—that my country had not furnished a single idea of value to humanity. Of course, I protested—thinking immediately of Franklin, Fulton, Morse, and Edison, to say nothing of several men of letters and statesmen whom I had been taught to venerate. Before I could formulate a reply, however, Dr. Hinzpeter halted and said:—"Stop. Yes, you have produced one great man—one grand idea—*Carey!*"

At this unexpected proposition I looked closely at the learned Doctor, to discover whether he was perpetrating a joke at so serious a moment. I satisfied myself that he was not, and that he referred to the late Henry Charles Carey, of Philadelphia, the so-called father of American Protectionism.—*Poultney Bigelow, in The German Emperor and his Eastern Neighbors, New York, 1892, p. 106.*

822197
47.2.2

THE SOUTH :

The Dingley Tariff and Civilization.

A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

MR. PRESIDENT :

A critical reading of your "Life of Thomas H. Benton" (1887) clearly demonstrates that you have not even the mildest toleration for Protection, really consider it a great wrong; that you do not recognize the fact that any Protective tariff from 1828 was of any real benefit to the country at large, but that that tariff furnished to the South "grounds for discontent" and "that it unquestionably harmed the South," and that "in a Federal Union it is most unwise to pass laws that shall benefit one part of the community to the hurt of another part when the latter receives no compensation."

Further than this you do not recognize the Clay-Calhoun "compromise tariff" surrender to South Carolina in 1833, as in the remotest degree answerable for the five years of bankruptcy, 1837-1842, that even involved the National Treasury, when in your own words, it was "obliged to stop the actual daily payments to the public servants," and when it "had not even a dollar with which to pay a day laborer."

The Tariff of August 30, 1842, that marvelous act that within two years not only placed the Treasury in an affluent position but raised a whole people from ruin and despair, to such an extent, that in December, 1844, President Tyler was able to say "the whole country presents an aspect of prosperity and happiness" you entirely ignore. Further than this you speak of "the famous Ashburton treaty," "Webster's crowning work while Secretary of State," as "the only conspicuous success of Tyler's administration," when really this treaty is not, for one moment, to be brought into comparison with the Tariff of 1842, the real "crowning" glory of that administration, redeeming as it did a whole people.

Still further you say: "Originally, while we were a purely agricultural and mercantile people, free trade was the only policy which occurred to us as possible to be followed."

Now just here, it may be stated that when in 1828 Congress passed the first real and effective protective tariff, it offered to the South a great boon

such as would have prevented it from presenting in Kentucky as lately as 1890 "pauper counties exempt from State taxes," and in which "the great problem of life is to raise \$2.50 during the year for county taxes," and wherein the portraits of "native type" as depicted by the artistic illustrations in Allen's "Blue Grass Region," are those of as low a type of white man as the world can show, and would have made it impossible for a southern writer in July, 1859, to have estimated the value of the possible product of the cotton seed then going to waste at \$106,177,000; or for an Alabama planter fifty years ago to say: "Cotton has destroyed more than earthquakes or volcanic eruptions;" he continuing, "Witness the red hills of Georgia and South Carolina, which have produced cotton till the "last dying gasp of the soil forbade any further attempt at cultivation," thus "the land turned out to nature, reminding the traveler as he views the dilapidated condition of the country of the ruins of ancient Greece."

REAL AGRICULTURE

Is wholly impossible without such diversified employments as shall bring the consumer to the side of the producer, and thus emancipate the farmer from the grinding tax of transportation, more enslaving than any tariff ever enacted; enable this farmer to diversify his crops, restore the fertility to the soil, occupy the best soils,* in a word, become a free man, bright, intelligent and wholly above and beyond the "native type" of Kentucky barbarian.

TARIFF OF 1789.

Quite in harmony with your view that "a purely agricultural and mercantile people" shall not attempt to rise above this helpless condition, the Tariff of 1789 gave the political economy of "the dismal science" a free hand. In that tariff the important manufactures of flax, cotton, hemp, iron, steel, brass, lead, copper, china, deft, pottery and wood were subjected to a duty of but five per cent.; and of all of the imports subject to ad-valorem duties arriving in 1790, amounting to \$16,376,881, \$14,605,713 paid but 5 per cent., the remainder $7\frac{1}{2}$, 10, 12, 15 per cent. Here was indeed a "free trade paradise," foreign goods coming in and specie going out, and our independence thus became a mere sham and a fraud on the people. Strange

*The wet prairies of Indiana twenty years ago, after eighty years of settlement of that territory, mere pestilential swamps without value, are now being drained, and have become the richest lands in the State. Thus the development of the mineral and other natural resources of that region has brought the consumer to the side of the farmer, enabled him to diversify his crops, eliminate the tax of transportation, and actively comply with the demands of the Law of Association. The fundamental fallacy of the old political economy of the schools, Ricardo's theory of rent, completely demolished by Carey in 1848, placed the early settler down in the morass, like the wet prairie of Indiana, and forced him up on to the hills, steadily becoming more and more a slave; whereas he began on the hills or the light soils like those of New Jersey, and it was only as wealth and the power of association grew that he could come down and drain the wet prairies and the meadows, always commanding an instrument of greater force and value.

evidence of incompetence, for between the peace of 1783 and the establishment of the Federal Government nearly or quite all the gold and silver brought here by the English and French armies and navies during the war had taken wings and flown away, and in some States goods, wares and merchandise were made a tender for payment of debts.

JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

Coming into office in 1801, Mr. Jefferson's mind was soon concentrated on the idea of paying off the public debt, in despite of the insults offered to us by both France and England, then at war, and both claiming sovereignty of the seas, both overhauling our ships and confiscating them and their cargoes, and England impressing our seamen. With few industries and no prospect of greater, with in 1801, a paltry revenue of but \$10,846,874, the Government suspended the law of the administration of John Adams, 1798, providing for the construction of six ships of not less than 74 guns each, "the most impolitic of measures," says Cooper, "History of the Navy of the United States," "one of which it soon had reason to repent."*

These six line-of-battleships and six additional frigates of the "rate" of the "Constitution" and the "United States" would not only have enabled us to defend our honor, but by so keeping France and England in order as to save us from the War of 1812—for at that time both had been so free in their favors that it was a moot point with us which to fight. In 1801 the public debt was \$83,038,050, in 1809 the year in which Jefferson's second term expired \$57,023,192, while in 1816, the year after the close of the war with England it had mounted up to \$127,334,933, and it was not extinguished until Dec. 31, 1834, so Mr. Jefferson's economies were expensive and not statesmanship.

The Duke of Wellington showed his appreciation of what our little navy had done up to Feb. 6, 1813, when he wrote to Marshal Beresford: "I have been very uneasy about the American naval successes. I think we should have peace with America before the season for opening the campaign in Canada, if we could take one or two of these d—d frigates." But Perry's victory on Lake Erie followed on Sept. 10th of the same year and Macdonough's on Champlain Sept. 11, 1814. The great Duke then repeatedly counseled his government to make peace, the impossible British supremacy on the Lakes being, as he urged, a *sine-qua-non* to a demand of American concessions.

With in 1789 a specific tariff of a thoroughly protective character it would have given us a revenue of \$20,000,000, which, with large and ever-

* It is hazarding little to say that had John Adams been re-elected in 1800, the War of 1812 would never have been, he taking great pride and having full faith in the navy.

increasing diversified industries, our people all employed, could have been carried by the nation with far more ease than the paltry \$10,846,874 of 1801. And that this could have been accomplished under protection, is fully proven by our shipping, the one and only interest really protected, and which long before the foolish bartering away in 1828 of our navigation laws to England for a mess of pottage, covered every sea, and outsailed the ships of every other clime.*

But as it was, in 1812 immediately before declaring war against England, and when an embargo against that country, declared April 7, 1812, was in force, 5,000 or 6,000 blankets were needed to comply with a treaty with the Indians, the Secretary of War, being unable to secure them at home, actually applied to Congress to suspend this embargo so as to enable him to import them from England. Comment on this disgraceful condition seems hardly necessary; "the load being too heavy for any theory to bear" even for British free trade—that system which debars real free trade, that between producer and consumer, without the intervention of the middleman.†

BRITISH FREE TRADE—WHAT IS IT?

The keynote to this nefarious system was in 1815 sounded by Henry, afterwards Lord Brougham, when he said: "England could afford to incur some loss on the export of English goods for the purpose of destroying foreign manufactures in their cradle;" and repeated ten years later by Joseph Hume, M. P., who was famed for his "liberal" views, and who desired "that the manufactures of the continent should be strangled in the cradle."

This system thus aimed, through driving asunder the producer and the consumer, and handing both over to the transporter and the trader, to destroy the natural and necessary commerce between these producers and consumers, to render it impossible for them actively and profitably to comply with the dominating factor in their lives, ASSOCIATION. Thus under this system production and consumption were limited, labor-power wasted, the accumulation of wealth, the growth of civilization arrested, and for what? That England

* Commodore Porter's defiant and self-confident cruise in the Pacific, 1813, alone in the Essex, a second-rate frigate living off the enemy for the year and cleaning out the British whaling trade, shows graphically what we missed in 1789 in not having a tariff that would have given birth to great diversified industries and such an adequate revenue, as to have placed us among the strongest naval powers of the world before 1812. These ships when fully rigged, manned and ready for sea would wholly and solely have represented American labor power, agricultural, mechanical and chemical, that really went to waste under the "free trade" folly of 1789.

† In 1861, under the blighting influences of the British free-trade tariffs of 1846-1857, unable to clothe our armies, a Deputy Quarter Master General and an eminent private citizen, an expert, were sent abroad to buy cloth, which was obtained in France. The "Trent" affair occurring, with a prospect of war with England, Baring Brothers & Co. refused to honor the drafts of these agents until Mr. J. S. Morgan said to them, "It is more than your credit is worth to fail to carry out your agreement." And they complied. And thus was our helplessness under vicious legislation once more shown in an hour of national peril.

should be made "the workshop of the world," a scheme that has desperately failed, for the reason that nearly every free people has resisted it by means of PROTECTIVE TARIFFS, even her own colonies. Thus would the success of this infamous conspiracy have robbed every people of the power to call to their aid the forces of nature, along which lines alone can freedom and civilization grow. The people that does not develop this power, as expressed in chemistry, mechanics, coal, heat, steam and electricity—must ever be the low, unlettered and degraded slaves, the hewers of wood and drawers of water, for their masters who have done so.*

The fruits of England's economic dogmatism may be studied to advantage in the seven centuries of misery, poverty and discontent in Ireland, reducing the population from 8,200,000 in 1841 to 4,458,000 in 1901, and scattering this noble race to the four corners of the globe, at once to prove its own capacity and the stupidity of England; in India, with its millions of deaths by famine—for famines never occur except in lands wholly devoted to so-called "agriculture"; in Turkey, once a dominating world-power, now sunk so low as to present to mankind, "the unspeakable Turk;" and finally to Portugal, for two centuries a victim of this British policy, and arrived at such a state of anarchy that it dare not lay bare the evidence as to the late assassination of its king. In a word, British free trade is the relentless foe of the natural and necessary commerce between the producer and the consumer, and would enthrone above them both the transporter and the trader, the grinding tax of transportation, the absorbing power of the trader, in their combination oppressing, enslaving and leading of necessity to barbarism, rendering any and all peoples subject to them unfit for self-direction, for self-government.

"True knowledge is always fruitful, and a clear conception regarding any one natural agent leads infallibly to better notions regarding others."—John Tyndall, *Glaciers of the Alps*.

THE LAW OF ASSOCIATION.†

The one great, ever-present dominating factor in the life of every human being in the world for thousands of years has been and ever will be

THE LAW OF ASSOCIATION,

Rendering it necessary that he or she shall associate, exchange services, com-

*Three tons of coal represent the labor power of a man for his lifetime. In 1870 one mill in Philadelphia manufactured, in every day of ten hours, 33,000 miles of cotton thread, obtaining from seven tons of coal the necessary power. Supposing it possible for such quality of thread to be made by hand, it would require the labor of 70,000 women to accomplish this work. In that year but 137,876 men, women and children were employed in the productive industries of that city, the products of which were of the value of \$334,852.458. Thus did this one cotton mill represent one-half the mere physical power of those who produced this great body of commodities. The competition of barbarian women, unaided by machinery, and even with wages at ten cents a day, with this steam and this machinery, would be a manifest impossibility.

† See Carey, *Principles of Social Science*. 3 vols., 1858-1860: where this law and its applications are fully shown, it being the broad and deep foundation of the philosophy of the author.

modities and ideas, and combine with his or her fellow beings. To cease to be able to comply with this law is to cease to be at all, to perish from off the earth.

This law is the great, the relentless, overmastering TYRANT that meets the child of man at his birth, accompanies him during every moment of his existence, and never lets up on him until he is gathered to his fathers. And the power of this tyrant comes of the fact that individual human life, without calling for the services, commodities and ideas of other human beings, is an absolute impossibility.

This law appears in every crust of bread, every agricultural product and implement, in every penny newspaper, every pound of coal and of fuel, every ton of iron or steel, every steam-engine, steamship, railway, school, college, army, navy and government. It is the great instrument of which human tyrants avail themselves to enslave mankind. It is because of this law that every common road, street, hotel, railway, steamboat, steamship, telegraph, telephone owes its existence; that postal systems and post offices exist throughout the world, that P. O. money orders originated, that banks, bank-loans, bank-deposits, checks, and drafts, and credit, and money are necessary to production, consumption, distribution and travel; indeed to life itself.

Command of the LAW OF ASSOCIATION is that for which men struggle under the name of WEALTH—control over the services, commodities and ideas of millions of men throughout the world.

THE LAW OF ASSOCIATION is the one great broad, overshadowing fact of human existence, and of which existence it ever keeps control. It is to the world of humanity what the law of gravitation is to the world and universe of matter. It is the philosopher's stone that transmutes, clears up, the temporal mystery of man.

So absolutely are all systems of Political Economy and Social Science attempts to solve the problems that arise out of the operation of the LAW OF ASSOCIATION that any system whatsoever that ignores this law as its true basic principle is *ipso facto* false and misleading, and unfit for serious consideration. Thus does the dogma that calls itself "free trade" fall—because not only is the law ignored by the "dismal" philosopher, but the dogma is in direct conflict with the LAW OF ASSOCIATION.

In spite of these philosophers, the rulers of the nations have discarded their dogma, because they find in the words of Napoleon that "even though an empire were made of adamant, the political economists would grind it to powder."

“DINGLEY” PROSPERITY A CAUSE FOR JOY ; SHOULD NOT BE TORTURED INTO ONE
FOR ALARM.

When, Mr. President, it is considered that during the 125 years of our independence just completed it is quite imposible to indicate even 30 years of general and widespread prosperity, it is not surprising that the 10 years (1897-1907) of the Dingley tariff, bringing with it such abounding development, with the inevitable growth of large fortunes, should cause alarm among those unacquainted with the facts and principles governing the case. These alarms should by all means be allayed, not aggravated. Our laws for 95 years having made for poverty and weakness, barbarism and misery, the people have not by experience been prepared for such strong diet, such hitherto unknown national wealth and power as the Dingley tariff has given. With mineral lands in the old State of Virginia, and especially in that part now West Virginia, before the war worth 25 cents an acre, now capable of producing annually from a single acre hundreds of dollars' worth of coal, it was inevitable that when this land was developed some one, some persons, should get rich, and so they did, and will get richer still. With such railroad securities as those of the coal roads—Reading, Lehigh Valley, Central of New Jersey and Delaware and Lackawanna—driven down in 1877 nearly 70 per cent., under 11 years of relentless contraction of a wholly inadequate volume of currency, it was a foregone conclusion that the rich and powerful should buy up at a sacrifice these securities, that those of limited means were forced to throw overboard.

Make no mistake, Mr. President, whatever destroys the ability to dispose of labor power, and destroys the value of stocks, bonds and real estate, must build up the already rich and cast down those who have but limited means or are already poor. Thus is it that the “predatory rich” are created, the great body of the people made their helpless victims. But here, Mr. President, comes in the beautiful

LAW OF DISTRIBUTION,

Through which as an accompaniment of industrial vitality the cost of reproduction declines, and with it the power of the accumulations of the past over LABOR. Thus “the laborer's share of the product increases in its proportion, and the product having largely increased, the augmentation of his quantity is very great. That of the capitalist has diminished in proportion; but the product having so much increased, this reduction of proportion has been accompanied by a large increase of quantity. Both thus profit greatly by the improvements that have been effected. * * * The more rapid the progress, the greater is the tendency of mind to acquire power over matter, the value of man rising as compared with capital and that of capital declining

as compared with man. In the natural course of things the laborers of the present tend, therefore, to acquire power at the cost of the accumulations of the past, that tendency existing everywhere in the direct ratio of the rapidity of the circulation and consequent growth of the power of accumulation."*

This noble LAW OF DISTRIBUTION, with our ninety-five years of industrial anarchy, has never been able to demonstrate its wonderfully beneficent power. Give it a chance, and it will, by keeping the people at work, at diversified employments, soon show a power among the whole people greater than that possessed by all the millionaires in this land or in the entire world.

And now, Mr. President, inviting your serious attention to the following pages containing a statement of facts and a presentation of evidence in regard to our economic misadventures, the condition of the South and the tendency of the Dingley tariff to develop civilization in that backward region of our country,

I am with great respect

Yr. Obt. Svt.,

HENRY CAREY BAIRD,

Philadelphia,

October 10, 1908.

To the President of the United States.

* Carey, Principles of Social Science, Vol. III, p. 113.

UNDER BRITISH FREE TRADE ONCE MORE. THE SLAVE POWER IN CONTROL.

THE TARIFFS OF 1846 AND 1857 AND THE REBELLION.

When, on July 30, 1846, James K. Polk signed the bill for the enactment of Walker's ad-valorem tariff, reducing duties, he decreed postponement of civilization in the South, the elevation of its poor whites, for a century. Further, he decreed the worship of slavery, the creation of the Rebellion, the Civil War, and finally the dissolution of the Union, now for 48 years accomplished. But let us go back in history a little :

TARIFF OF 1833.

In 1833 by an unholy alliance between Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun was enacted the so-called compromise tariff, under which all duties on imports over 20 per cent. were, by 1842 to be reduced to that rate. In March, 1837, Van Buren was inaugurated President. Hardly was he seated before there came a financial crisis which lasted and grew for over five years, resulting in bankruptcy from New England to the Gulf; involving even the Treasury of the United States, so that in the words of Theodore Roosevelt "the government" suffered "the disgrace of being obliged to stop the actual daily payments to the public servants" and "had not a dollar with which to pay even a day laborer."

Although on January 1, 1835, the public debt was entirely extinguished, in 1842 the government sending an agent to Europe to negotiate a loan of \$12,000,000 he could find no banker in London bold enough to put such a loan on the market and he returned without success.

It was during this time that Mississippi repudiated its debt not to this hour paid; that Pennsylvania for a season defaulted on its interest on a debt of \$40,000,000; that the Bank of the United States with capital \$35,000,000, finally closed its doors; that the Girard Bank, \$5,000,000, failed and subsequently reorganized with \$1,250,000 capital. When a run was made on a Philadelphia bank, it redeemed its circulation, not with silver or gold but with bank notes as worthless as its own.

PROTECTIVE REGENERATIVE TARIFF OF 1842.

On August 30th was passed the Tariff of 1842, as self-vindicating a law as throughout all time was ever enacted by any government. The effect of this law was instantaneous, and is well illustrated in the business of a great hotel, the then greatest in the country, when within five days from the receipt of

the news in New York City, the number of guests increased to over 300 per cent. of that of the day on which came this great news; and in the words of one of the proprietors "business never flagged from that hour." In his annual message December, 1844, President Tyler was able to say:

"Commerce and manufactures, which had suffered in common with almost every other interest, have once more revived; and the whole country exhibits an aspect of prosperity and happiness."

The production of pig-iron in 1842, 215,000 tons, mounted up in 1846 to 765,000 tons. The Democratic politicians so well understood the significance of this great fact and its political bearings that in the election of 1844 in Pennsylvania they flew the flag: "Polk, Dallas and the Tariff of 1842," carried the State, elected Polk and Dallas, and two years later with the aid of the casting-vote of George M. Dallas, Vice-President, betrayed their poor dupes, enacting

WALKER'S BRITISH FREE TRADE AD-VALOREM TARIFF, 1846,

Reducing duties, a law subsequently denounced by that old veteran Democrat, Thomas H. Benton, because of its ad-valorem character, up as prices rose, down as prices fell, and offering a premium on custom-house frauds.

By January, 1850, half of the iron furnaces in Pennsylvania, if not in the hands of the sheriff, were closed down, and by 1852 the production of pig-iron in the country fell to 500,000 tons; the consumption of domestic and foreign in 1847, 88.7 lbs. per capita of population, falling in 1852 to 53.5 lbs. per capita, an unerring indication of growing poverty and barbarism.* But in 1848 came the

DISCOVERY OF GOLD IN CALIFORNIA

To bolster up this vicious legislation. Between 1848 and 1860 we produced of gold and silver \$652,250,200; that stimulated trade throughout the world, but nearly all the beneficial effect was lost to us, for between January 1, 1849, and June 30, 1860, we sustained by export a net loss of \$414,921,937, or nearly two-thirds of our total production. But for this vicious tariff, retaining this \$652,000,000 of gold and silver, we should have made ourselves for the first time in our wretched, blundering history financially independent of the world.

TARIFF OF 1857 REDUCING DUTIES STILL FURTHER.

But not content with such mortal stabs, with the usurer fattening off the people and a foreign debt of \$500,000,000, on March 3, 1857, was enacted

* In 1890 the production of pig-iron in the United States was 327 lbs. per capita of the population. Under ten years of the Dingley Tariff this production had run up in 1907 to 675 lbs., showing giant strides in wealth and national power and in civilization. What unholy hands shall dare to pull this vitalizing statute to pieces, its noble industries down?

a new tariff to take effect July 1, 1857, reducing duties 20 per cent. and 25 per cent., Massachusetts co-operating. In September came a grand financial crash with prostration of every interest, lasting until after February, 1862, when the greenback was first provided for, the Union in the mean time having been dissolved.

THE SOUTHERN STATES.

For fifty years before the war, in utter ignorance of the economic needs of the South, her politicians, from John C. Calhoun and Thomas H. Benton downwards, worked and voted for the perpetuation of the barbarism of its people. With no diversified industries, that can alone develop association and combination among men and create a demand for labor power, the source of all wealth and the most perishable of all commodities, these politicians should have been the leaders of the hosts of Protection and not the enemies of it. There is but one road to civilization and that is through work and wages. In the absence of diversified industries, for three quarters of a century, annually more white labor power was wasted in those States one hundred times over than was utilized. In a word Protection was to the South far more vital, far more necessary than to the North. It meant an end to barbarism; a new life of civilization with all that civilization implies.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS ON SLAVE REPRESENTATION.

In a speech in the House of Representatives, January 16, 1833, John Quincy Adams stated "That there were on that floor upwards of twenty members who represented what in other states has no representatives at all" — "property," namely "slaves." And this was the least of a great wrong under the Constitution, for the representatives of property in slaves had also over twenty votes in the Electoral College, electing the President and Vice-president of the United States.

THE IGNORANCE OF THE SOUTHERN LEADERS

Who lacked the capacity to appreciate the importance, the necessity, the humanity and the means of redeeming from poverty and degradation the great hordes of poor whites, by whom they were surrounded, ultimately to their sorrow, demonstrated this ignorance, through themselves and their families, in even a more fatal manner. Accustomed for more than half a century, through slave representation, the solidarity of the slave interest, and the co-operation of their tools, the Democratic organization of the North, to rule the nation with like stupidity, they believed that by means of an annual crop of cotton of 4,861,000 bales, worth in 1860 \$243,000,000, they could on the field of battle conquer the United States, and keep it conquered. But great warlike empires are not built of such scant materials.

THE SOUTH'S POOR WHITES.

In "The Blue-Grass Region of Kentucky and other Kentucky Articles," New York, 1892, that charming writer James Lane Allen has much to say about that portion of his native State "The Mountain Passes of the Cumberland" a region of wealth in coal and iron unsurpassed in the world. He for instance says of

CUMBERLAND GAP, KENTUCKY.

"For within a hundred years, the only thing to take possession of it, slowly, sluggishly overspreading the region of its foot-hills, its vales and fertile slopes, the only thing to take possession of it and to claim it has been a race of mountaineers, an idle, shiftless, ignorant, lawless population, whose increasing numbers, pauperism and lawlessness, whose family feuds and clan-like vendettas, have for years been steadily gaining for Kentucky the reputation for having one of the worst backwoods populations on the continent, or, for that matter, in the world."

And this :

PINEVILLE, KENTUCKY.

"Over this road, then, and towards this town, one day, five summers ago, I was picking my course, but not without pale human apprehensions. At that time one did not visit Pineville for nothing. When I reached it I found it tense with repressed excitement. Only a few days previous there had been a murderous affray in the streets; the inhabitants had taken sides; a dead-line had been drawn through the town, so that those living on either side crossed to the other at the risk of their lives; and there was blue murder in the air. I was a stranger; I was innocent; I was peaceful. But I was told that to be a stranger and innocent and peaceful did no good. Stopping to eat, I fain would have avoided, only it seemed best not to be murdered for refusing. All that I now remember of the dinner was a corn-bread that would have made a fine building stone, being of an attractive bluish tint, hardening rapidly upon exposure to the atmosphere, and being susceptible of a high polish. A block of this, freshly quarried, I took, and then was up and away. But not quickly, for having exchanged my horse for another, I found that the latter moved off as though at every step expecting to cross the dead-line, and so perish. The impression of the place was one never to be forgotten, with its squalid hovels, its ragged armed men collected suspiciously in little groups, with angry, distrustful faces, or peering out from behind the ambush of a window."

Here is just the material out of which the world over, civil wars and tumults have been created. This population was made through one hundred years of failure to develop the great natural resources of this region and bring about that civilization which can alone come of work and wages.

With no diversified industries in the South and with only "earth-butchery" which they dignified with the name of "agriculture;" the more completely the land became exhausted, the more shiftless and barbarous the whites, the greater the proportion in value which the slaves bore to all forms of personal "property," the more insane the worship of slavery; until infatuated

by the possession of 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 bales of cotton, these politicians, utterly ignorant of statesmanship, embarked in a war of desolation, goading on their poor and ignorant followers to fight for a cause in which they had no interest.

FIVE YEARS LATER PINEVILLE INVADED BY DIVERSIFIED INDUSTRIES CASTS OUT
BARBARISM.

In the meantime, extensive developments of coal and iron, backed by powerful companies, one of them organized by Kentuckians with a capital of \$2,000,000 had brought life, civilization, peace to Pineville and Mr. Allen has now this to say :

"A few weeks ago I went again to Pineville, this time by means of one of the most extensive and powerful railroad systems of the South. At the station a 'bus was waiting to take passengers to the hotel. The station was on one side of the river, the hotel on the other. We were driven across a new iron bridge, this being but one of four now spanning the river formerly crossed at a single ford. At the hotel we were received by a porter of metropolitan urbanity and self-esteem. Entering the hotel, I found it lighted by gas, and full of guests from different parts of the United States. In the lobby there was a suppressed murmur of refined voices coming from groups engaged in serious talk. As by and by I sat in a spacious dining-room, looking over a freshly-printed bill of fare, some one in the parlors opposite was playing on the piano airs from "Tannhauser" and "Billee Taylor." The dining-room was animated by a throng of brisk, tidy, white young waiting-girls, some of whom were far too pretty to look at except from behind a thick napkin; and presently, to close this experience of the new Pineville, there came along such inconceivable flannel-cakes and molasses that, forgetting industrial and social problems, I gave myself up to the enjoyment of a problem personal and gastric; and ere long, having spread myself between snowy sheets, I melted away, as the butter between the cakes, into warm slumber, having first poured over myself a syrup of thanksgiving.

"The next morning I looked out of my window upon a long, pleasant valley, mountain-sheltered, and crossed by the winding Cumberland; here and there cottages of a smart modern air already built or building; in another direction, business blocks of brick and stone, graded streets and avenues and macadamized roads; and elsewhere, saw and planing mills, coke ovens, and other evidences of commercial development. Through the open door of a church I saw a Catholic congregation already on its knees, and the worshipers of various Protestant denominations were looking towards their own temples. The old Pineville, happily situated farther down the river, at the very opening of the pass, was rapidly going to ruins. The passion for homicide had changed into a passion for land speculation. The very man on whose account at my former visit the old Pineville had been divided into two deadly factions, whose name throughout all the region once stood for mediæval violence, had become a real-estate agent. I was introduced to him.

"'Sir,' said I, 'I don't feel so *very* much afraid of you.'

"'Sir,' said he, 'I don't like to run myself.'"

Such, briefly, is the impression made by the new Pineville—a new people there, new industries, new moral atmosphere, new civilization.

"The explanation of this change is not far to seek. By virtue of its commanding position as the only inner gateway to the North, this pass was the central

point of distribution for southeastern Kentucky. Flowing into the Cumberland, on the north side of the mountain, is Clear Creek, and on the south side is Strait Creek, the two principal streams of this region, and supplying water-power and drainage. Tributary to these streams are, say, half a million acres of noble timber-land; in the mountains around the best coals, coking and domestic; elsewhere, iron ores, pure brown, hematite, and carbonates; inexhaustible quantities of limestone, blue-gray sandstone, brick clays; gushing from the mountains abundant streams of healthful freestone water; on the northern hillsides, a deep loam suitable for grass and gardens and fruits. Add to this that through this water-gap, following the path of the Wilderness Road, as the Wilderness Road had followed the path of the Indian and the buffalo—through this water-gap would have to pass all railroads that should connect the North and South by means of that historic and ancient highway of traffic and travel."

Later and authentic advices from Eastern Kentucky, under the benignant influences of the Dingley Tariff and its logical outcome, the diversification of industries, tell the same delightful, encouraging story of the uplifting of a once brutal people; fitting them for true and responsible citizenship in this great Republic.

WEST VIRGINIA UNDER THE DINGLEY TARIFF

Having long preceded Eastern Kentucky in the development of its great resources in coal and iron, has now far surpassed her sister state, and just one year ago the *Pittsburgh Dispatch* presented this delightful story:

PASSING OF THE MOUNTAINEER.

"The typical West Virginia mountaineer, with all his simplicity and open-heartedness, is fast disappearing before the railroad, coal, and lumber interests of that State. The lank, half-fed and half-clothed residents of the forest of 50 years ago are scarce, even in the remote counties of Greenbriar, Pocahontas and Randolph. The rapid development of that country has modernized him and all his family. While it is generally conceded that the little Mountain State is richer than Pennsylvania or Ohio in mineral and timber resources it is the last of the three States to be developed. In the interior mining districts the natives have been driven back or assimilated by a more hustling and accumulative class. The man who a few years ago was content to eke out a mere existence is now fast taking on the grasping, dollar-hunting disposition of the outer world. As the railroads press to the common center the mountaineer disappears. When he begins to speak of the arrival and departure of trains by number and says "10:15," which he formerly called "a quarter after ten," he is lost to the picturesque tribe of his forefathers. He takes on new habits, has new thoughts, and is no longer content with the simplicity of his surroundings.

"The old mountain fiddler, the hero of a thousand country dances, is also swallowed up by what is called civilization along with the root and herb hunter, the country doctor, and the girl with the raven hair and the snapping black eyes."

THE LESSON OF EASTERN KENTUCKY AND WEST VIRGINIA

That these transformations from barbarism to civilization present most enchanting views to all thoughtful men who would see realized the elevation and the emancipation of man, so long eluding the grasp of humanity,

must on all hands, be acknowledged. Then, that we may with profit read and reading, clearly understand this lesson, we must seek out its cause ; the principle or principles involved therein.

The case is simple : In Eastern Kentucky and in West Virginia, compliance with the demands of the LAW OF ASSOCIATION has now for the first time become possible ; and this tyrant law, when man conforms to its exactions is always kindly, always helpful ; always leading its tractable, docile child from the smaller triumphs over the forces of nature, to great ones, and greater still ; with each step increasing his power to exchange services, commodities and ideas and to combine, in association with his fellow men. There is no deep unfathomable mystery here, its mere statement rises to the higher plane of argument.

But how has this desirable condition, this compliance been brought about? Surely not merely because Kentuckians and others have determined to tap these treasure-holding hills, untapped throughout all the ages. Has it not been because in their own and other states a power of association, through the diversification of industries—agriculture, the mechanic arts, manufactures, the technical application of chemistry and electricity, the development of literature and art has been such as to call for fuel, travel, transportation and ten thousand other things as to create a demand for the coal, iron, steel that these mineral regions have to dispose of ?

And whence has come the capacity to demand of Eastern Kentucky and West Virginia these material things? Has it not come from the fact that the Government, in the immediate past, rising to a full realization of its duty, has PROTECTED the home markets now responding to the industrial outputs of Kentucky and West Virginia, from being rent asunder by foreign interference ; by those who would destroy the natural and necessary POWER OF ASSOCIATION among ourselves? Thus has every industry an actual interest in the protection of every other industry against foreign aggression, a warfare that has so long been tolerated by our own Government, to our own destruction and to the destruction of our institutions. Therefore is it that we be not content that our own special interests be protected, but that we demand it for all others, no matter how remote may seem to be our apparent interest in these others. In a word, no man, no body of men is sufficient unto himself or to themselves. Through the LAW OF ASSOCIATION there is perfect harmony of all true interests ; each alike, giving and receiving. To treat of an ideal isolated, lonely man not in association with his fellows, is to treat of a man who does not and who cannot exist in this world but is a mere unreal abstraction.

In this entire movement in Eastern Kentucky and West Virginia this development of the power of association by final analysis *Labor* will be found the one great factor. Labor gives value to land and to the treasures therein neither of which possesses value without the application of labor and as man rises in value, so do land and the raw products of the earth, the fates of all these being indissolubly linked together " for better or for worse."

THE POLITICIANS AT CHICAGO, 1908.

But there has been recently at Chicago a gathering of politicians, our masters ; who appear under the false pretence of representing us. And

what have these creatures to say about the uplifting of the South as exhibited in Eastern Kentucky and West Virginia? Emphatically nothing, knowing nothing, caring nothing simply being intent on their own thrift; on the further development of their own political and personal advancement, ready at all times and in all places to fawn on and cringe to and thus obey those in power above them.

CHICAGO PLATFORM, 1908.

But listen while I read from their so-called "platform," prepared for them in advance and without consultation with them, and which they have been commanded to adopt as their own and as that of the people.

In this wordy and wandering mass of stupidity it is written :

The Republican party declares unequivocally for a revision of the tariff by a special session of Congress immediately following the inauguration of the next President and commends the steps already taken to this end in the work assigned to the appropriate committees of Congress which are now investigating the operation and effect of existing schedules. In all tariff legislation the true principle of protection is best maintained by the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, together with a reasonable profit to American industries.

Now, really what is the meaning of this rubbish? Is it pure idiocy or is it an attempt to destroy every industry that has throughout 125 years of struggle, misfortune, and bankruptcy, for the most part, in despite of the Government, been enabled to rise to the point of competing advantageously with other like industries throughout the world?

If only such duties are to be imposed on foreign imports as will "equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, together with a reasonable profit to American industries" and there being no difference; what then? Why then admit the foreigner with his competing products to the privileges of the free list. There is no other escape either in principle or in practice from this dilemma, this stupidity. Further, to be logical, if the cost of production at home be less than abroad and the Constitution not in the way, why not levy an export duty on the American product, and at one blow make an end of these public enemies, these diversified industries? In the old days of the Slave Oligarchy, the diversified industries of the free States were so nearly regarded as nuisances that that Virginia "statesman" John Randolph of Roanoke said he would "go out of his way to kick a sheep" as a representative of a struggling industry. And are we here today back again, under the Republican politicians regarding our industries as mere grafters on the people, to be put down at all hazards? Is this a part of the "Roosevelt policies" to which the Taft administration pledges itself before election, that of the Irishman in the row "Wherever you see a head hit it"?

EXPORTS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1908.

The total exports of domestic products for the fiscal year to June 30, 1908, being of the value of \$1,834,786,357, thus showing them to be cheaper than abroad, the items all and singular comprising this great volume of exports, under the Chicago dictum, foreign imports of such products go of necessity onto the free list. Included in these exports we have \$750,679,381

of manufactured articles the existence of which represents 125 years of struggle with final triumph, in despite of an ignorant and heartless Government. Are the people of the United States prepared to accept this Chicago-Taft-Sherman recklessness? Hardly! If they do or if they quietly tolerate it they are wholly unfit for self-government!

MR. TAFT ON THE PLATFORM HE HELPED IN ADVANCE TO MAKE FOR THESE CRINGING POLITICIANS, SAYS :

“The Republican doctrine of protection as definitely announced by the Republican convention of this year and by previous conventions, is that a tariff shall be imposed on all imported products, whether of the factory, farm or mine, sufficiently great to equal the difference between the cost of production abroad and at home, and that this difference should, of course, include the difference between the higher wages paid in this country and the wages paid abroad and embrace a reasonable profit to the American producer. A system of protection thus adopted and put in force has led to the establishment of a rate of wages here that has greatly enhanced the standard of living of the laboring man. It is the policy of the Republican party permanently to continue that standard of living. In 1897 the Dingley tariff bill was passed, under which we have had, as already said, a period of enormous prosperity.

“The consequent material development has greatly changed the conditions under which many articles described by the schedules of the tariff are now produced. The tariff in a number of schedules exceeds the difference between the cost of production of such articles abroad and at home, including a reasonable profit to the American producer. The excess over that difference serves no useful purpose, but offers a temptation to those who would monopolize the production and the sale of such article in this country to profit by the excessive rate.”

MR. TAFT THUS ENDORSING THIS PLATFORM.

Basing all government on a comparison of prices at home and abroad; having indeed no higher test of national legislation, national life, national civilization, and being an aspirant for the Presidency, let us see where we to-day really stand :

The Independence of these United States was acknowledged by George III, just 125 years ago; and what has been its industrial and financial history during that long period of time? Just 30 years of prosperity, 95 years of adversity—ten of the years of prosperity or one-third being under the existing Dingley tariff. Of these years Mr. Taft says :

“IN 1897 THE DINGLEY TARIFF BILL WAS PASSED, UNDER WHICH WE HAVE HAD, AS ALREADY SAID, A PERIOD OF ENORMOUS PROSPERITY, and as he adds: THE CONSEQUENT MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT HAS GREATLY CHANGED THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH MANY ARTICLES DESCRIBED BY THE SCHEDULES OF THE TARIFF ARE NOW PRODUCED. And then he says: THE TARIFF IN A NUMBER OF SCHEDULES EXCEEDS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE COST OF PRODUCTION OF SUCH ARTICLES ABROAD AND AT HOME, INCLUDING A REASONABLE PROFIT TO THE AMERICAN PRODUCER. And further: THE EXCESS OVER THAT DIFFERENCE SERVES NO USEFUL PURPOSE, BUT OFFERS A TEMPTATION TO THOSE WHO WOULD

MONOPOLIZE THE PRODUCT AND THE SALE OF SUCH ARTICLES IN THE COUNTRY TO PROFIT BY THE EXCESSIVE RATE."

In other words, American production and competition under improved and ever-improving processes having so reduced prices, there is danger that that product and that competition will induce the producer to increase prices in a great competing market! Can wild absurdity go further? Yes! In the realm of the political economy of the college, that political economy dealing in nothing but fallacies that are absurdities—absurdities opposed to common sense, to universal experience.

It would appear from the foregoing luminous statement of Mr. Taft that the dictum of the Chicago platform that "the true principle" of the levying of duties is "such as will equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad," is something sacred, something that, coming from the high authority of the politicians who did not represent the people at Chicago, that it must ever be regarded as like the "law of the Medes and Persians that altereth not."

BUT WE MAY NOW INQUIRE AS TO WHAT MR. TAFT KNOWS ABOUT PRICES.

Has he ever possessed an inkling of an idea that :

In all advancing countries the prices of all raw commodities including land and labor, these being utilized, have a tendency to rise, while the finished commodities of these raw materials, through the intervention of chemistry, steam, electricity, machinery and brains fall? Thus in the places where raw materials not being utilized are cheap, there finished commodities are dear. On the other hand, where raw materials are high in price because utilized, there are finished commodities abundant and cheap; the forces of nature being under the control of man.

Here we have the law, and it is of universal application and here too comes in the marrow of the money question. With an abundance of money there is the power of association most fully developed and while with that money raw materials, including land and labor command the highest prices, finished commodities are most abundant and cheapest. There also labor-power, the source of all wealth, is most completely utilized, thus producing demand which results in supply through the utilization of labor-power, making a further demand for labor-power, resulting finally in the accumulation of wealth and the amelioration of mankind.

The course of money is steadily from those places where land, labor and other raw materials are cheap, because not utilized and where money is scarce. And there the rate of interest is high. This money goes to those places where raw materials, including land and labor, being utilized are high, but where finished commodities with the aid of chemistry, steam, machinery and brains are cheap. There money and bank credit being abundant, the rate of interest is low.

Thus do wealth and real civilization go hand in hand together in perfect harmony, driving out the fruits of that economic darkness, so long working in the direction of slavery, discord, and societary anarchy.

Thus the exports for 1908, of manufactured articles of the value of \$750,-679,381, therefore produced cheaper than abroad, in which Mr. Taft finds reason for attacking the Dingley tariff, furnish just the reason why he should

keep his uninformed hands off of it! These exports, under this tariff, mark the *advance in our civilization*, and are the herald that proclaims the coming of the day when we shall, like France, with a century of protection cease to be in the company of barbarians, the exporters of raw materials; but to accomplish this end Mr. Taft and his kind must be warned not to interfere when and where he and they are without knowledge.

MR. TAFT BEING UNWILLING TO TRUST TO HOME COMPETITION,

He has no knowledge of the mighty difference between it and foreign competition. Foreign competition furnishes no demand for domestic labor, while domestic competition starts such a demand for domestic labor and the commodities which alone come of that labor, that \$1.00 paid for American labor, will start such a movement as will perform in a single year acts of association or commerce amounting to one hundred or perhaps many hundreds of dollars. And this is the secret of the beneficent working of the Dingley tariff, which Mr. Taft and the Solons at Chicago would tear to pieces.

PHILADELPHIA LOCAL COMPETITION.

But if Mr. Taft would learn what real *prohibition* possessed by a single community against interference even at home will accomplish, let him study the conditions existing in the newspaper business in Philadelphia, where no one finds the paper of another community a substitute for that of his own. In Philadelphia there is no daily paper in the English language over *one cent*; and a leading daily has recently stated that the circulation of that paper results in an annual deficit of over \$1,000,000! It is useless to say there is no monopoly there except that growing out of the Associated Press.

BUT MR. TAFT SEES NO "USEFUL PURPOSE"

In the higher advalorem rates under specific duties of the Dingley tariff because of development of our great industries. Just let him study the lesson of Eastern Kentucky and West Virginia, when he may realize that there is something to be aimed at higher than the government regulation of prices.

For half a century before the war of the Rebellion, the South with its slave representation in Congress and the Electoral College, dominated this Republic with the hope that their people might get cheap things, and they gave us misery, bankruptcy, broken hearts, and finally a civil war. The realm that bases its laws and customs on a confused body of prices of raw materials and finished commodities, of the law governing which, it is absolutely ignorant, is doomed to barbarism and destruction.

THEREFORE HANDS OFF OF THE DINGLEY TARIFF,

That has in its ten years given us the longest period of prosperity we have known in the 125 years of our freedom and self-government.

What the government has to do with legislating so that only "a reasonable profit" to American industries shall be permitted, is not apparent when it is considered that it gives itself no concern as to the *unreasonable losses* sustained by these industries, amounting to billions of dollars, during more than one hundred years of the existence of that government, even treating their petitions for good laws, a substitute for bad ones, with contempt.

"REASONABLE PROFITS" AND UNREASONABLE LOSSES.

In view of the demand of Mr. Taft and his platform for "reasonable profits" only, for American producers, let us see how this government has treated this people since the close of the war of the Rebellion, April, 1865—forty-three years ago—taking a mere glance at its *unreasonable losses!*

In order to keep our armies in the field and save the nation from overthrow, to prevent an interminable war, the government found it necessary in 1862 to issue various forms of paper money—without which the destruction would have been complete—European powers, too willingly, intervening. Immediately on the close of the war, Mr. Lincoln, the friend of the people, unhappily being dead, Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury, sounded the cry "on to specie payments" by retiring the paper money, that had saved our independence, and an ignorant Congress at once responded.

In 1873-1874 John Sherman by an adroitly planned scheme, brought about the exclusion of the silver dollar, our original standard of payment, from coinage. Up to that time only Germany had attempted to destroy the double standard. This action of Germany was brought about by the ignorance of the professors who thought Germany was about to receive from France \$1,000,000,000 in gold—whereas she received it in bills of exchange drawn against merchandise *cheaper* or better in France than in Germany then under British free trade. Bismarck saw the blunder into which he had been led by these professors, and denounced them vigorously in a memorable interview with the late Wm. D. Kelley, of Philadelphia, in Berlin in 1878 or 1879. The German scheme failed, and but for John Sherman would probably have been entirely abandoned.

But to return to our own perfidious government. In the 43 years since the Civil War we have not known fifteen years of real prosperity. Somewhat through the coinage of silver, recovered from the ruin of contraction, the tariff of 1883, a wretched measure was adopted. In 1885 came Cleveland who destroyed all confidence. Finally with Harrison's administration came in 1890 the McKinley tariff and a happy revival; however in 1893 destroyed by Cleveland primarily to cause the silver legislation to be repealed, because Rothschild said if we did not, he would sell all his American securities; and thus our sovereignty passed into the hands of a foreign banker! In 1897 came the Dingley tariff, under which in the words of Mr. Taft "we have had a period of enormous prosperity," and which he with a presumption that is monumental would destroy; thus placing his ignorance above and beyond the experience of ten years of this "enormous prosperity."

But let us, lest we forget it, take just a glance at the ruin of 1865-1877, as presented by the railways of the United States.

The Railway Age, of Chicago, stated on February 22, 1877, that eighty-six railroads had, during the year 1876, met with disaster, as follows:

	No. of roads.	Mileage.	Capital invested.
Sold under foreclosure.....	30	3846	\$217,848,000
Receivers appointed or foreclosures commenced.....	46	7576	538,000,000
New defaults.....	10	2577	156,661,000
Grand total.....	86	13,999	\$912,509,000

The same paper, under date of March 22, 1877, says: "Out of a total nominal investment of the railroads of this country, of \$4,775,000,000, about 38 per cent., or \$1,800,000,000 is represented in defaulting roads, and is, therefore, for the present at least, almost wholly unproductive to the investors." And on the same date, says:—

"The losses incurred by the shrinkage of the stock of the four principal coal roads within the last year are appalling, as shown by the following table:—

	Value Mar. 8, 1876.	Present value.	Shrinkage.
Central of N. Jersey.....	\$21,961,750	\$1,744,625	\$20,217,125
Dela., Lacka. & Western.....	31,178,000	17,423,000	13,755,000
Dela. & Hudson Canal.....	24,000,000	10,400,000	13,000,000
Reading.....	32,863,500	4,251,000	28,612,500
Total.....	\$110,003,250	\$33,818,625	\$75,584,625

"Add to this \$76,000,000 of loss, the depreciation upon the bonds of the companies, and the estimate that the total apparent loss caused by the coal panic within a year will reach one hundred millions of dollars, is not far from correct." And adds: "The loss of nearly \$8,000,000 in annual dividends by the stockholders of the four roads named is a calamity of

wide-spread effect." This involved the absolute ruin of tens of thousands of people and built up hundreds of millionaires who bought these securities for a song.

Well may this high authority call this condition "appalling." The present writer about that time urged upon President Gowen of the Reading road, his personal friend, to throw his railroad across the track of this cruel and stupid government, but he "would not interfere with politics," and not only was his road completely wrecked but his own life was ruined.

But in the midst of this John Sherman never faltered, never relented; in December, 1877, recommending that the greenback currency of \$346,681,016 be reduced to \$300,000,000, and that even this be deprived of its legal-tender quality. Never in the annals of mankind were government and people more completely divorced from each other; even though this government was in theory, "of the people, by the people and for the people." Can we, Mr. Taft, have no peace, but must we ever be pursued by the politicians, our cruel masters?

The contraction and the non-expansion of the currency, THE INSTRUMENT OF ASSOCIATION, between 1865 and 1897, by McCulloch, Sherman, Garfield, Boutwell, Cleveland and others, entailed on the people of the United States a loss greater than the value of all the property, real and personal, in the country to-day, and included the wreck of the South, postponing the hour of its high civilization to the 21st century. The figures, good or bad, under a government good or bad, in a great country like ours, mount up to a height which seems incredible until intelligently examined.

OUR PORTLAND CEMENT INDUSTRY.

The history of the development of this, now great, industry in this country is of profound interest, showing as it does, evidence absolutely conclusive, and beyond dispute of our advance in wealth and civilization under Protection.

From 1870 to 1880, the total production was but 82,000 barrels while in 1907 it was 48,785,390 barrels. In 1890, the year in which was passed the McKinley tariff, during Harrison's administration, it had reached an annual production of 335,000 barrels.

The production of 1907 was distributed among the several states as follows: Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia; Pennsylvania leading.

In the list are thus included seven States once cursed by slavery, a fact of profound significance, carrying with it, as it does, an earnest of the future wealth and civilization of those States and the elevation of their people. But the chief encouragement here, the chief hope for the future is found in the fact that the production was mainly the result of local demand; the price of cement being so low for its weight as to render transportation to a distance well nigh impossible except under urgent demand. Thus these Southern States are advancing to a condition rendering great and substantial constructions a necessity.

On the authority of the United States Geological Survey it may be stated: "It is safe to say that more than 20 per cent. of the entire area of the United States is underlaid by raw materials out of which cement could be made if prices were forced high enough" by any combination.

Abundant materials including fuel for the production of cement exist in Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia, Wyoming, and one or more of these materials in several other States. The land capable of yielding these materials, can at present generally be had very low, the value being fixed by the absence or presence of labor and its application. Thus the value of the 48,785,390 barrels of Portland cement produced in 1907, \$53,992,351, by final analysis will be found to consist wholly of utilized labor-power, even to the expensive works needed for its production. And this labor-power so starts business throughout the land that it is impossible for the mind of any human being to follow it up even in the abstract.*

NATURAL AND PUZZOLAN CEMENTS.

In addition to the Portland cement there was in 1907 produced of natural cement 2,887,700 barrels worth \$1,467,302 and of Puzzolan cement 557,452 barrels worth \$443,998.

* Even in the fifties the Senate called upon the Secretary of the Treasury for an estimate of the internal trade of the United States, the Secretary asking advice on the subject of one who had devoted years to the study of such problems, he was advised not to attempt it, the truth being so startling, that even much short of it would be received with incredulity.

That demand, *always the cause of supply*, should call into existence in one year 52,230,342 barrels is an event of stupendous import, especially when is considered the character of the constructions to which this product is applied, among which are: sidewalks, poles for telephone and telegraph service, piles, railway ties, foundations for fence posts and for fence posts themselves, curbs, street-crossings, smoke stacks, grain elevators, water tanks, sewer pipes, dams, reservoirs, tiles, bricks, piers, docks, tunnels, bridge work, and "the statement would appear to be justified," says the U. S. Geological Survey, "that it is now regarded as among the chief building materials of the twentieth century."

This magnificent industry not merely shows the growth of gigantic engineering works only possible with a rich and advancing country, but illustrates, in a marked manner, how by means of chemistry, electricity, mechanics and brains, man passes from the use of poor and dear instruments, to that of superior and cheaper ones, and that these conditions infallibly mark his advance in civilization; but to achieve these triumphs over the forces of nature he must not become so muddled in his brain, as to concentrate his thoughts on whether or not the benefactors of the race who have achieved these triumphs are or are not making "a reasonable profit." But rather on the fact that millions of these men have within the past 125 years been ruined by a stupid, selfish and reckless government.

GERMAN AND BELGIAN PORTLAND CEMENT.

The largest consumer of Portland cement in the world, and doubtless the largest producer, is the United States, although Germany preceded us in the manufacture of Portland cement. Our production of 48,785,390 barrels far surpasses hers. In 1901 the consumption in Germany was 14,600,000 barrels, while the capacity of the factories was 29,000,000, leaving a surplus of 10,000,000 to 12,000,000, of which was exported 506,652 tons, leaving a large excess which broke down the market that in 1903 had not recovered.

How delightful it would be to Germany if she should be enabled to dump this surplus down on our own market until the industry here was destroyed and Germany was enabled to reap a great harvest before ours could "come to its own," in a country ruled and ruined by ignorant and selfish politicians.

BELGIUM AND CEMENT.

In 1903, cement conditions in Belgium are mentioned by Mr. Haine, Vice Consul at Antwerp, as follows:

"The Belgian cement trade has to deplore the almost total loss of the American market. The United States was formerly one of the best customers of Belgian manufacturers, but within the last two or three years has practically emancipated itself from European manufacturers, and produces a surplus which it is expected will be offered in European markets. This has caused a serious depression here, where prices reached in 1903 the very lowest limit. Manufactories have been transformed both as to machinery and methods, in order to meet the depression."

Here is a chance for Mr. Taft and his statesmanship, based on the comparative "cost" here and abroad, to let down the bars, let in his neighbor's cattle, and see about prices when his own crops were no more and his neighbor was "in clover."

"THE GERMAN PERIL."

Under this caption appears in "The Quarterly Review," London, July, 1908, a long learned and powerful article laying bare the high ambitions of Germany under the Emperor William, the greatest monarch who has reigned in Europe since 1815, when Napoleon was overthrown. So striking is this paper that the Imperial Chancellor, Prince Buelow, has felt called upon by the Reichstag to answer it, and disown these world-wide aims and ends.

"Nothing can be more certain," says the reviewer, "than that the German government and the whole German people, constituting at once the most formidable, the most compressed, and the least satisfied of all the great powers, regard the strength of England and the existence of her maritime supremacy as the first and the chief obstacle to the realization of their ambitions by land and sea. Fail before that obstacle, and a Teutonic Empire able to hold its own against the united force of the Anglo-Saxons or of the Slavs, or even of the Yellow world, can never be created. Break that barrier, and the accomplishment will follow of more splendid hopes than Chatham ever achieved or Napoleon ever cherished. This and nothing but this is at the present moment the fixed idea of German thought and the guiding instinct of German feeling."

HOW THE UNITED STATES PLAYS INTO THE HANDS OF GERMANY IN HER SCHEMING FOR DOMINION OF THE SEAS.

One of the chief factors in establishing for Germany the position of ruler of the seas is that of control of the magnificent ocean traffic that we, poor fools, throw open to the free competition of the world; Germany today being only second to Great Britain in the fight. With success she has become so arrogant that forming a league among themselves some of her steamship companies not only demand the exclusive trade between this country and certain European ports, but control over the American ports whence freight shall be shipped and at which received, and the American railroads by which it shall be shipped—freely using the boycott to carry out these plans.

OF OUR IMPORTS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1908,

Amounting to \$1,194,341,792, \$958,298,994 were received in foreign steam vessels, while but \$145,101,373 came in American steam vessels. Of these imports, \$182,901,378 came in German vessels.

OF OUR EXPORTS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1908,

\$1,834,786,357; \$1,499,633,257 were shipped in foreign steam vessels, while but \$110,760,868 were shipped in American steam vessels. Of the exports shipped in foreign vessels, Germany took \$203,692,917. This latter country having but one serious competitor for this our bounty—Great Britain.

THE FIGURES SHOWING THE PASSENGER TRAFFIC

Are quite inaccessible at Washington, or they would show the reckless throwing away of the most splendid traffic of this kind, for first and second class and steerage passengers, that the world has ever known, and would surpass the wildest dream of any people, of any sailor of the Cunard, or any other steamship company, half a century ago.

MR. TAFT ON OUR SHIPPING INTEREST.

In regard to this situation, with his usual vacuity of mind in statesmanship, Mr. Taft has this to say: "As long as we uphold the system of protection for our home industries, we must recognize that it is inapplicable to assist those of our citizens engaged in the foreign shipping business, because there is no feasible means of excluding foreign competition, and that the only other method of building up such a business is by direct aid in the form of a mail subsidy."

RESTORE OUR NAVIGATION LAWS AND THUS RESCUE OUR SHIPPING INTEREST FROM ITS IMPENDING DOOM.

In reply to this feeble statement, Mr. Taft is referred to history, showing how Cromwell laid the foundations broad and deep of England's supremacy at sea, by means of his Navigation Laws, and how by a like measure American shipping, the only industry protected by the Congress of 1789, became so vigorous that up to 1828, when these laws were abrogated in favor of England, those ships covered every sea, penetrated to the uttermost parts of the earth, and even flourished in despite of the aggressions of France and England during their wars of over twenty years. Finally Mr. Taft is referred to our magnificent coasting trade, from which foreign competition is absolutely barred. Never was it in a more flourishing condition. During the calendar year 1907, 131 steam vessels of 424,805 tons were built, and almost exclusively for this great coasting trade. Even as recently as 1907 an adequate bill covering every point in this situation was prepared, printed, and doubtless presented, to Congress at its last session, of course pigeonholed by the ignorant politicians, our masters, there to sleep "the sleep that knows no breaking."

BETRAYAL TO GERMANY.

But in view of these conditions, what can be thought of a Chief Magistrate of a republic, of his own initiative, without authority of law, in a recess of Congress, sending a number of government subordinates across the water, bats in hand, to make concessions to Germany, already fattening off of the plunder of our carrying trade? Was ever assumption of such power taken even by the sovereign of a limited monarchy? Kings have even lost their crowns for less than this. The outbreak of the French Revolution was due to the ruin of French industries through the trade treaty with Great Britain (1785) of Mr. Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland. Louis XVI consequently lost not only his crown but his head. Soon there-

after England and France had each other by the throat and they kept it up through over twenty years of bloody and devastating war. Of such is the realm of the trader, the foe of the natural and necessary commerce of man with his fellow-men direct. Thus since July, 1907, by opening the way to fraud through foreign invoices, has the Dingley Tariff been attacked and reduced throughout every ad-valorem schedule! And is there no remedy? Are the safeguards of the law to be taken from us by executive usurpation, and that usurpation condoned? Already is the hosiery industry, one of great importance, imperiled by this unrighteous action, and the whole tendency therein is to drive American importers out of business, their places to be filled by agencies of German houses, to which consignments can be made at nominal prices—such agencies easily finding refuge under these most pernicious proceedings.

The extent of the injury now accruing from this usurpation by the Executive, of the law-making power may be judged from the fact that there are in the United States 15,000 manufacturers of hosiery, underwear and other knit goods, with capital \$132,000,000, employing 182,000 people and doing a business of \$170,000,000 annually. Our only safety is to be found in keeping the Executive to his executive duties and holding him personally responsible when he oversteps these constitutional grounds.

THE ROOSEVELT PLATFORM, 1908.

"The Republican party declares unequivocally for the revision of the Tariff by a special session of Congress immediately following the inauguration of the next President and commends the steps already taken to this end in the work assigned to the appropriate committees of Congress which are now investigating the operation and effect of existing schedules."

So is it written in the Chicago platform, but are these the declarations of the Republican party? Are these not rather the declarations of a single individual, the President of the United States, and are these politicians not solely responding to his orders without consultation with the rank and file of the Republican party or the country generally? This platform is in its character ultra British free trade, and at issue with the views and the legislative policy of the Republican party for fifty years. Are its utterances not antagonistic to the declarations of the platform of 1904 which Mr. Roosevelt accepted and in his letter of acceptance approved?

Has Mr. Roosevelt therefore, not of his own volition, his own will, his own initiative, absolutely taken upon himself the duty of revolutionizing the policy of the party that, in 1904, honored him by electing him President of the United States?

Has Mr. Roosevelt not forced upon the party its candidate for President, whose outspoken views are absolutely at issue with the beliefs of the great body of the party that has so honored him? If these things be true has he not been guilty of a great wrong?

But what is to be thought of Mr. Roosevelt in his platform "commending" the policy of holding up the business of this great country for fifteen or eighteen months at a cost to trade and industry of \$100,000,000 to \$200,000,000 per day? Is this statesmanship? Is this Mr. Roosevelt's idea of the solving of "moral problems;" of his duty "in teaching plain morality" and thus ignoring the poverty, the misery, the suffering, the most sacred rights of the millions of his countrymen, whose true guardian and protector he should be and whose destiny is in his keeping?

TILLING THE SOIL IN THE SOUTH.

An Easy Lesson in Statesmanship for President-Elect Taft.

Within about a fortnight there has appeared in the Pittsburgh Gazette-Times a paragraph in regard to the progress of agriculture in the neighborhood of the now flourishing city of Atlanta, Georgia, from which the writer attempts to draw no economic or industrial conclusions; and which reads as follows:

"In the vicinity of Atlanta, which is now a great and a fine city, old cotton fields have been converted into dairy farms, truck patches and fruit orchards, and these are being rapidly extended and with great profit to the countryman, as well as to the city.

"Since the establishment of agricultural stations and schools great improvement has been made in farming. Instead of merely scratching the ground with a 'bull tongue,' or single shovel plow operated by a lazy mule and a lazier darky, they now plow the ground really, turn real furrows, harrow, plant and cultivate in the most up-to-date fashion.

"This is telling on the productiveness of the soil, and accounts for the improved conditions of farmers generally.

"Among the things that have helped to improve the land here is what they call 'green fertilizing,' which consists in sowing leguminous crops, such as clover, peas, beans, and the like, and turning them under to help make the next crop."

These flourishing conditions, be it remembered, do not arise from any tariff duties on milk, cream, butter, sweet potatoes, green peas, celery, beans, pumpkins, rhubarb, water-melons, canteloupes, peaches, apples, pears and the like, but from the great market which is brought to the very gates of the farm by the diversification and the growth of the magnificent industries of Atlanta, Georgia, thus demonstrating the harmony of all true interests and the broad principles upon which a protective tariff acts. Thus is the farmer enabled to redeem, revitalize those worn-out soils, "butchered" in the olden time when the South ruled us with a rod of iron and considered the tariff of "1828 peculiarly aggravating," and when, according to Mr. Roosevelt, "it undoubtedly worked real injury to the planter states," and when he thought that there was "small ground for wonder that the irritation over it in the region so affected should have been intense."

The Georgia farmer is now under the enlightened system of protection and the development of the great and ever-growing city of Atlanta, enabled to comply with that overmastering demand of his nature, the necessity for association and combination with his fellow-men, and thus really to live and flourish, to become civilized. Without this active compliance there can be no civilization, but such barbarism as we have seen exhibited in the "native type" of Pineville and its surroundings in the once barbarous Cumberland region of southeastern Kentucky.

For the politicians to disturb this wonderful development around Atlanta and in the South generally by attacking the Dingley Tariff would be an unpardonable crime, and one that would render any administration infamous; indeed tend to make even that of James Buchanan respectable.

JEFFERSON ON UNALIENABLE RIGHTS.

When Mr. Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence said:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," he failed to recognize the fundamental principle, that these good gifts, one and all, are unobtainable, beyond the reach of man, without the power to comply with the *Law of Association*, the exchange of services, commodities and ideas with his fellow-men; the primal, the eldest, the most completely unalienable of all his rights because comprehending all and singular, such rights.

Therefore, recognizing the fact that this world, as now organized, is thoroughly artificial; that *trade is war*, it becomes the highest, the greatest, the first of all the duties of the State so to legislate as to protect its people against this cruel, selfish, heartless warfare, this attempt in the interest of the trader and the transporter to separate the producer and the consumer and thus to enslave them both. Hence do Protective Tariffs stand in the position of the most just, the most equitable, the most beneficent of all laws, to be maintained, at all hazards and against all comers, all enemies, domestic as well as foreign; such enemies, wherever found, to be regarded as public enemies, the enemies of progress, of humanity, of civilization, and as such to be effectually put down and kept down—forever silenced, because the propagators of views that have, wherever enthroned above a people, become the scourge of that people.

PHILADELPHIA, November 7, 1908.

HENRY CAREY BAIRD.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

WHAT MR. ROOSEVELT KNOWS ABOUT POLITICAL ECONOMY.

In a sketch from life from an unpublished letter in the *American Magazine* for September, entitled *The New Roosevelt*, Mr. Roosevelt has this to say:

"New issues are coming up. I see them. People are going to discuss economic questions more and more: the tariff, currency, banks. They are hard questions, and I am not deeply interested in them; my problems are moral problems, and my teaching has been plain morality."

And yet apparently having paid but little attention to Political Economy, running in 1904 for President of the United States on a Republican Protectionist platform, he did not hesitate in November of that year, immediately after the election and before the electoral vote had been given for him, to express his opinion in favor of the revision of the Dingley Tariff. Later, he has advocated putting wood-pulp on the free list and reducing the duty on printing paper, the latter being now furnished cheaper than in 1896 before the enactment of the Dingley Tariff. Further than this, he has urgently advocated the overhauling of the Dingley Tariff, as beneficent a law as ever was enacted by the Congress of the United States, and which is steadily making for civilization in the South; after a long and almost hopeless era of darkness there; the eleven years of this law having done more for that benighted region than all previous legislation during one hundred years.

MR. ROOSEVELT ON FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION.

In his "Life of Thomas H. Benton," Boston, 1887, Mr. Roosevelt has this to say:

"Free traders are apt to look at the tariff from a sentimental standpoint; but it is in reality purely a business matter, and should be decided solely on grounds of expediency. Political economists have pretty generally agreed that protection is vicious in theory and harmful in practice; but if the majority of people in interest wish it, and it affects only themselves, there is no earthly reason why they should not be allowed to try the experiment to their hearts' content. The trouble is that it rarely does affect only themselves; and in 1828 the evil was peculiarly aggravated on account of the unequal way in which the proposed law would affect different sections. It purported to benefit the rest of the country, but it undoubtedly worked real injury to the planter states, and there is small ground for wonder that the irritation over it in the region so affected should have been intense," p. 67.

PROSPERITY OF STUPID NULLIFYING SOUTH CAROLINA; UNDER THE PROTECTIVE TARIFFS OF 1828-1830.

(As recorded by Mr. Roosevelt.)

"South Carolina having complained of the oppressed condition in which she found herself, owing to the working of the tariff, Jackson, in his message, with some humor, quoted in reply the last Thanksgiving proclamation of the governor, wherein he dilated upon the State's unequalled prosperity and happiness." Roosevelt, "Life of Benton," p. 192.

In this connection it is interesting to state that in 1849 Barnwell Rhett, of South Carolina, a so-called "statesman," wrote to Amos Lawrence, of Boston, predicting that at the close of the decade South Carolina would spin within her own borders all the cotton she raised.

The fact however developed that at the end of the decade, this consumption was only a trifle above that of 1849. (See Diary and Correspondence of Amos Lawrence, Boston, 1856, p. 275.)

When Mr. Rhett wrote this letter, the great industrial impulse produced by the tariff of 1842, repealed from Jan. 1, 1847 had not then entirely died out. It did however, soon after, thus sending this agreeable prediction sky-high. Walker's ad-valorem "free trade" tariff having done its work of destruction; it really being false free trade that "worked real injury to the South" not protection, as declared by Mr. Roosevelt. Could the policy of the tariff of 1842 have been maintained for another decade it would not only have silenced treason in South Carolina, but by such wonderful industrial development in the South as would have carried us entirely clear of the war in Kansas, the Rebellion and the Civil war. As a result of this development the mountain regions of Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee and Alabama with their abounding wealth of untouched coal, iron, limestone, and timber would have taken measures to rid themselves of the incubus of slavery, to the end that intelligent white men should come and possess this earthly paradise; slavery being only possible in communities of low vitality. And then the attack on Sumter, with its sequel of blood, slaughter, and ruin, would not have been!

UNDER THE "BRITISH FREE TRADE" TARIFF OF 1816

Cut down, as it was, from the tariff proposed by Secretary Dallas—

NOT EVEN HIGH ENOUGH TO PROTECT THE PRECIOUS METALS FROM EXPORT—

Mathew Carey, writing in February, 1821, estimated that the recent and immediately prospective exports of specie (silver) from the city of Philadelphia alone to India, China and other points beyond the Cape of Good Hope, amounted to \$4,000,000, adding:

Is it then wonderful that the currency of the country has been so prodigiously reduced as is declared by the Secretary of the Treasury (Wm. H. Crawford, in 1824 a Presidential possibility) as follows:

"In 1815, the whole circulation was estimated to have arisen to \$110,000,000, and this amount was probably augmented in 1816. At the close of 1819, it has been estimated upon data believed to be substantially correct at \$45,000,000. According to these estimates, the currency of the United States has, in the space of three years, been reduced from \$110,000,000 to \$45,000,000.

"This reduction exceeds 59 per cent. of the whole circulation of 1815." * * * * *

"All intelligent writers upon currency agree that where it is decreasing in amount, poverty and misery must prevail. The correctness of the opinion is too manifest to require proof. The united voice of the nation attests its accuracy.

"As there is no recorded example in the history of nations of a reduction of the currency, so rapid, and so extensive, so but few examples have occurred of distress so general and so severe as that which has been exhibited in the United States."

Mr. Carey adds:

In the course of 1817-18, the Bank of the United States, at the great expense of \$525,927, imported \$7,311,750 in specie, but nearly as fast as it arrived, it was swept off into the unfathomable gulf of this exhausting commerce.

THOMAS H. BENTON, A PERSISTENT "FREE TRADE" DEMOCRAT, ON THE CONDITIONS UNDER THE "FREE TRADE" TARIFF OF 1816.

"The years of 1819 and 1820 were a period of gloom and agony. No money, either gold or silver; no paper convertible into specie, no measure of, or standard of, value left remaining. The local banks (all but those of New England), after a brief resumption of specie-

payments, again sank into a state of suspension. The Bank of the United States, created as a remedy for all those evils, now at the head of the evil, prostrate and helpless, with no power left but that of suing its debtors and selling their property, and purchasing for itself at its own nominal price. No price for property or produce; no sales but those of the sheriff and the marshal; no purchaser at the execution sales but the creditor or some hoarder of money; no employment for industry; no demand for labor; no sale for the products of the farm; no sound of the hammer but that of the auctioneer knocking down property. Stop laws, property laws, replevin laws, stay laws, loan-office laws, the intervention of the legislature between the creditor and debtor, this was the business of legislation in three-fourths of the States of the Union—of all south and west of New England. No medium of exchange but depreciated paper; no change even but little bits of foul paper marked so many cents, and signed by some tradesman, barber, or innkeeper; exchanges deranged to the extent of fifty or one hundred per cent. Distress, the universal cry of the people; relief, the universal demand, thundered at the door of all legislatures, State and Federal."

HENRY CLAY ON THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY BEFORE AND AFTER THE PASSAGE OF THE
MODERATELY PROTECTIVE TARIFF OF 1824 AND UNDER THE THOROUGHLY
PROTECTIVE ONE OF 1828.

"Eight years ago it was my painful duty to present to the other House of Congress an unexaggerated picture of the general distress pervading the whole land. We must all yet remember some of its frightful features. We all know that the people were then oppressed and bowed down by an enormous load of debt; and that the value of property was at its lowest point of depression; that ruinous sales and sacrifices were everywhere made of real estate; that stop laws and relief laws and paper money were adopted to save the people from impending destruction; that a deficit in the public revenue existed which compelled the Government to seize upon and divert from its legitimate object the appropriations to the sinking fund to redeem the national debt, and that our commerce and navigation were threatened with a complete paralysis. *In short, sir, if I were to select any term of seven years since the adoption of the present Constitution which exhibited a scene of the most wide-spread dismay and desolation, it would be exactly that term of seven years which immediately preceded the establishment of the tariff of 1824.*

"I have now to perform the more pleasing task of exhibiting an imperfect sketch of the existing state of the unparalleled prosperity of the country. On a general survey we behold cultivation extended, the arts flourishing, the face of the country improved, our people fully and profitably employed, and the public countenance exhibiting tranquillity, contentment, and happiness. And if we descended into particulars, we have the agreeable contemplation of a people out of debt; land rising slowly in value, but in a secure and salutary degree; a ready though not extravagant market for all the surplus production of our industry; innumerable flocks and herds browsing and gambolling on ten thousand hills, and plains covered with rich and verdant grapes; our cities expanded, and whole villages springing up as it were by enchantment; our tonnage, foreign and coastwise, swelling and fully occupied; the rivers of our interior animated by the perpetual thunder and lightning of countless steamboats; the currency sound and abundant; the public debt of two wars nearly redeemed, and, to crown all, the public treasury overflowing—embarrassing Congress not to find subjects of taxation, but to select objects which shall be liberated from the impost. *If the term of seven years were to be selected of the greatest prosperity which this people have enjoyed since the establishment of their present Constitution, it would be exactly that period of seven years which immediately followed the passage of the tariff of 1824.*"

PRESIDENT TYLER'S MESSAGES BEFORE AND UNDER THE TARIFF OF 1842.

MESSAGE, DECEMBER, 1842, ON THE SITUATION IN THE SUMMER OF 1842.

"After a failure in the American market, a citizen of high character and talent was sent to Europe with no better success; and thus the mortifying spectacle has been presented of the inability of this Government to obtain a loan so small as not in the whole to amount to more than one-fourth of its ordinary income; at a time when the Governments of Europe, although involved in debt, and with their subjects heavily burdened with taxation, readily obtained loans of any amount, at a greatly reduced rate of interest."

MESSAGE, DECEMBER, 1844, AFTER THE TARIFF OF 1842 HAD BEEN IN OPERATION 27 MONTHS.

"The credit of the Government which had experienced a temporary embarrassment, has been thoroughly restored. Its coffers, which for a season were empty, have been replenished. A currency, nearly uniform in its value, has taken the place of one depreciated and almost worthless. Commerce and manufactures, which had suffered in common with almost every other interest, have once more revived; and the whole country exhibits an aspect of prosperity and happiness."

BRITISH FREE TRADE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF WARFARE—HOW IT WAS WORKED IN ENGLAND
HALF A CENTURY AGO.

As shown in a Report to Lord Palmerston, Secretary of State, 1854, by Mr. Treemenheer, and printed by official order:

"The laboring classes generally in the manufacturing districts of the kingdom, and especially in the iron and coal districts, are very little aware of the extent to which they are often indebted for their being employed at all to the immense losses which their employers voluntarily incur in bad times, in order to destroy foreign competition, and to gain and keep possession of foreign markets. Authentic instances are well known of employers having in such times, carried on their works at a loss amounting in the aggregate to £300,000 or £400,000 in the course of three or four years. If the efforts of those who encourage the combinations to restrict the amount of labor and to produce strikes were to be successful for any length of time, the great accumulations of capital could no longer be made which enable a few of the most wealthy capitalists to overwhelm all foreign competition in times of great depression, and thus to clear the way for the whole trade to step in when prices revive, and to carry on a great business before foreign capital can again accumulate to such an extent as to be able to establish a competition in prices with any chance of success. The large capitals of this country are the great instruments of warfare against the competing capitals of foreign countries, and are the most essential instruments now remaining by which our manufacturing supremacy can be maintained; the other elements—cheap labor, abundance of raw materials, means of communication, and skilled labor—being rapidly in process of being equalized."

With Compliments
of the Author.

